1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12



## THE STORY OF THE BOY AND HIS BROTHER AND THEIR SONG.

539*

There once lived an old man who had two wives, and by each wife he had a son. One of the wives died, and the old man told the other one to look after both children.

The boys loved one another very much, and always went together to herd their father's cattle. They had their own pet cow, which they called the Dapple-grey, and when they wanted to milk her they only had to sing the following song:

'Child of my father, brother dear,
She yields her milk, our Dapple-grey,
She yields it though no calf is near,
This song of mine she can't gainsay.

'Into my mouth I milk thee not'[1],
Dear Dapple-grey, there's nought to fear,
No gourd or calabash I've got,
I only, whom thou lov'st, am here.'

After a time the woman took a great dislike to her step-son, and made up her mind to get rid of him so that her own son might have all the milk. She therefore dug a hole in the floor of the hut, and said to the boy: 'You whom God gave me, come from the grazing ground at midday, and have your head shaved.'

When the child arrived, his step-mother told him to go into the hut, and bring the bag containing her razor from under the bed. He entered the hut, and not seeing the hole which had been dug in the floor, fell into it. The woman immediately covered in the hole by dropping a big stone into it.

In the evening the other boy returned with the cattle to the kraal, and asked his mother where his brother was. The woman replied that she had shaved him a short while before, and that he had returned to the grazing ground. When she was told that he had not been seen, she wept and cried out: 'My child is lost.'

As nothing was heard of the boy that evening, it was assumed that he was dead. His brother was much distressed, and during the greater part of the next day whilst herding the cattle he wept and sang their every-day song.

[1] It is a common practice amongst Masai herdsmen to milk their cows direct into their mouths.

[234]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12



824 [484] oitoi, neñgeru 'n-gujit anañgaki, amu ājo metum endōki nalo aiñgoru.

fallen on the road, he pulls up some grass, and throws it on the tree; otherwise he fears that his journey will not be successful.

Enyor il-Maasae 'n-gujit naleñg, amu ājo: 'Eisborua opa eng-Aī 'n-gīshu oo 'n-gujit, mikiór in-dōkitin náishoo 'yook eng-Aī.'

The Masai love grass very much, for they say: 'God gave us cattle and grass, we do not separate the things which God has given us.'

● 734 787 Ore 'ng-oloñgi pōkin ten elep i-ñgorōyok in-gīshu, neitau kulle te-'m-bukuri, neibughoo, amu ājo: 'Enyor eng-Aī.'

Whenever Masai women milk their cows, they take some milk from the gourd and pour it away, for they say: 'God likes this.'

## 733 422 Il-mishiren oo 'l-ponot.

## The brand-marks and ear-cutting of cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Meñgar il-Maasae 'l-mishiren.

The brand-marks which the Masai use for their cattle are not alike.

[C14] Eata ae-kishōmi ol-mishire lenye kitok le-'n-gishōmi pōkin.

For each clan and family there is one principal mark, and all the cattle belonging to the various members of a family are branded in a special way.

Neitōki aata 'l-gilat ti-atwa, eiyōlōuni en-giteñg injere en-e-'n-gishōmi naje, kake en-e-ñgania.

There are also small marks by which the actual owner can be recognized.

E-ata sii 'l-ponot; metii en-gishōmi nemeata ol-ponoto lenye.

Besides branding, each family has a special method of slitting the ears of their cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

Neitōki aoro ti-atwa.

They likewise have smaller marks for each individual owner.

Ten edoli en-giteñg neiyōlōuni 'njere en-oo-'l-Aiser enna-kiteñg, kake en-e-ñgania.

If therefore a cow is seen, it can be recognized as belonging to the Aiser clan, for instance, and also to such and such a person.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya



*Milking.*—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days.

*Raiding.*—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (*see* Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders.

## Part X.—Miscellaneous Notes.

*Fire.*—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks.

*Murder.*—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (*see* Raiding, above).

*Smiths.*—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary novices or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith.

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough fleshy side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not *vice versa*), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12



of cattle to a family (*kishomi*) in 1948 was between 100 and 200 head. There appears to be no such system as the Nandi *kaptic* or Kipsikis *kimanahan*. (See above, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the calf is allowed to suck, and if it dies the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called *ol-kutu*, is presented to the cow at each milking. The milk yield is about three pints a day. Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Nandi, with a blocked arrow, *ol-goret*, shot into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Sheep also are bled. Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's clan or sub-clan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick, *em-bolioi*. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

*Donkeys*

The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*i-sirkon*, sing. *o-sikiria*) which are used for carrying their goods when they move house (*idur*). Donkeys are marked by slitting the ears in different ways.

*The Status of Cattle*

The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Merker says that warriors may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements of a traveller are open to question. Fosbrooke says that they may.[1] But further investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual value is required.

### Inheritance of Cattle

There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the eldest son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given in trust to his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use. Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*kishomi*) arrangement in the kraal[2] for cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies without sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

### Grazing and Water Rights

Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*ol-osho*), and grazing rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each warrior, according to tradition, claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over water are thus ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at the water decides, after consultation with other clansmen, the order in which people take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is communal.

### Division of Labour

In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression "economic unit" has little meaning, but so far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It must be remembered, however, that the normal practice is for families to be divided between the father's kraal, *enk-ag*, and the warriors' kraal, *e-manyata*, and that the

[1] Fosbrooke, personal communication.

[2] [For details of the (Kishomi) arrangement in residence, see p. 107. --Analyst]

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eŋg aⁿ el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, es-
pecially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus
for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups.
For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward
a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps,
dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance
only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the
accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in; in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at
8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good
breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate
vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by
the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has
to leave it beforehand.

/32 cont./

512 [462] [351] [252] When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture, the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted in the huts and og it are placed the pots filled with water in which the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are [415] [439] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary tribes or also from the Wandoróbo, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con-262 [241] trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, especially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not 262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however, 272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by [158] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (eṅ gule) or sour (eṅ gule naoto); boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted [158] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en ḍiwót) is greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup [234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat, [252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially [263] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in [252] one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together [153] [263] (1).

[171]

1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

/36 cont./

524 Now the partner starts in the same way playing in his row. /37/ to let the other play again as soon as he has placed a last stone in an empty compartment. The one who places a last stone in an empty compartment of his own row takes it and the ones lying in the adjacent compartment of the opponent's row for himself, and so on until, according to the rules, no more stones can be taken out of play. The one who has removed the most stones has won the match and gives himself a point. Serving as counters [802] [239] are small, finger-thick, and spindle-shaped ivory sticks 15-20 centimeters long (ol alai, el ala) (1).

1. As tooth generally is called tusk of the elephant, ivory.

Before the game starts, there is an understanding as to how many points are to be played. Women never play this game, warriors rarely. The latter usually prefer the en gebé (n gebén), which is played in much the same way, except that in any case about eight players for each side take turns and each row has 40 to 50 compartments, which are not chiseled into a board, but are scratched into the ground.

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Fig. 6. (1/4)

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• 234
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When the livestock has come home from pasture, it is milked, as in the morning, and after that the evening meal, consisting of fresh milk, is taken.

[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./
701 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the
462 girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock,
[233] when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up
[234] to take the first meal (en dál e dadegenja = food in the morning),
[226] consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the
[272]
[262]

701
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291

Ill. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the
701 cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is
462 eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (en dál e kat' aré, that
[262] is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time
[264] drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become
[272] somewhat sour (eág ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that
512 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
535 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song (en sílgílio) under a nearby shade tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

## [Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 535 701 [836] [832] [533] knees. The row of girls moves forward up to the warriors with short, stamping steps, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies. As a rule the dance ends when each girl whose lover is absent approaches one of the dancing warriors in short high-jumps. This is an invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers in similar fashion as a sign of consent. The dance is always accompanied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

701 535

Ill. 34. Dance in the warrior kraal III. 3/4 C. G. Schillings phot.

512 701 [234] [264] [272] [535] Soon afterwards the livestock returns home, and, after it is milked, the people take the evening meal (en dāī e tēlba = food in the evening), again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of warriors and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to moisten with milk the throats shouted dry. During this time the mothers are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while

512 234 1/1. [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite the differences in captions, apparently were both taken at the same location, with only a slight time differential--Analyst]

## [Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 before the milking is finished, then the calves are allowed to go to
• [234] the cows for about an hour, and finally /91/ the former must again be separated and shut up, so that there will be enough milk in the morning. At ten o'clock it becomes quiet, the people retire into the huts, except for the boys who lie down to sleep on the ground beside the goats.

136 The silence lying over the vast steppe is broken only now and then by the howl of the spotted hyena (Hyaena crocuta), reminiscent of the whistle of a siren, more rarely by the hoarse laughter of the
825 striped hyena (Hyaena striata and Hyaena Schillingsi). Sometimes the roar and growl of a lion can also be heard, and if the latter slinks about silently sometime, one becomes aware of its approach

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Ill. 35. Dance in the war camp IV. C. G. Schillings phot.

825 by the behavior of the cattle: they snort, stamp, and crowd together, or race wildly through the kraal. Then a number of women immediately hasten out of the huts, in order to drive away the beast
000 of prey by shrill, trilling cries (ol gijoi). A few intrepid warriors also

/161 cont./ The cattle are zebus (Bos indicus) among
233 which one can distinguish a stocky, short-horned breed and a thinner,
[136] long-horned one. One almost never comes across pure representatives of either, however, rather, as a result of plunder and crossbreeding, all the types occurring in East Africa are represented among them. The actual Masai cattle (ń gischu el masai) scarcely exceed in size the average East African cattle. The foreign, that is, stolen, cattle especially prized are: on account of its considerably larger size, the livestock from Irangi and vicinity (ń gischu ol datua), that from Unyamwesi and Usukuma (ń gischu ol molbaro), and further the large-horned ń gischu e kiteto, named after the steppe area of Kiteto, west of the area of Nguru. Among all the udders are relatively small and the yield of milk is consequently little. An exception to this is a low, stocky breed with short horns, which produces a double quantity of milk and about which the Masai maintain that they are quite pure descendants of the old Wakuafi cattle (ń gischu el lumbua). The Masai call descendants mahgá. Since the calves
• 234 are not permanently separated from the cows, the women try to avoid the natural restlessness at the milking by bringing the calf close to the cow during the milking. They place themselves astride it and hold its head firmly with the knees. The cow licks the calf, believes that it is sucking. /162/ /Ills. 51 and 52 appear here/ /163/ and is quiet. If the calf dies, one deceives the cow about its presence by hanging the freshly dried /Fig. 74 appears here/ skin over a stick. The cows are milked twice a day, morning and evening, and each time give about one and a half liters of milk. They are never milked completely; rather one leaves the calves with them afterwards. Until the calf is two months old, it is given the milk from
232 two tits, while the other two are milked. The principles of breeding and selection in general are well known to the Masai (Fig. 74). Male calves that are not to be used for breeding later on are castrated
[412] at the age of 14 days (a-gelém). With a sharpened /Ill. 53 appears here/ piece of sheet iron, such as is used for shaving, a cut is made in the scrotum, then each testicle is grasped with the hand and pulled out, together with the spermatic cords. "So that the wound may heal more quickly," one sticks in a dead fly and ties one of the removed testicles around the left foreleg of the calf operated on.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 217 ]

started in and under the dung it is similar to a peat fire and virtually impossible to put out.

Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it. People who are very seriously ill are removed from the boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a boma is very likely to end up inside a hyaena. The administration frowns on this efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' bomas that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

Food: Traditionally the Masai are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and hair styles.

234 hair styles. The gourds are grown by nearby cultivators
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[264] and purchased or traded by the Masai. The calabashes are cleaned between usings by washing in water (if available) and then purified with a mixture of urine and wood ash. After being carried in one of these containers the milk has a rather characteristic, somewhat smoky-sweet taste that may stay with one for several days.

443 The maize meal is purchased or traded from the dukas or trading post cum general stores which are found at Narok, Loliondo, and at other points around the periphery of the area.

262
272 Meat comes from the Masai livestock and occasionally game. The old traditions laid down specified rules for who in the tribe might eat what kind of meat, and at
[701] what times. Apparently the warriors had a right to demand milk and sometimes meat from anyone, at least in their section. Milk and meat were not to be consumed on the same day, but blood could be mixed with the milk.

701 When not fighting the warriors could carry out
[562] an olpul, or meat camp. They would take goats or a bullock and make camp in the bush, kill and eat the animals. The olpul might take from a week to a month,
[826] depending on the available time and meat. We presume that

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Kenya FL1
Masai FL12



good management on modern ranching lines will bring him in hard cash.

I saw the ranch mainly from the air. Lines of bush, cleared by bulldozers dragging giant chains between them, lie neatly along the contour like windrows in a hayfield. Soon the six or seven thousand acres that have been cleared will be fenced, and so managed that star-grass will cover them and steers fatten twice as quickly as they normally do. The snag, of course, is the Masai indifference towards cash.

Yet even here the seeds of change begin to germinate. There are schools now in all Masai centres, Masai students at Makerere, the start of a trickle of Masai teachers, doctors, administrators, vets. One has a Cambridge degree in geography, one is a Legislative Councillor. The shell of Masai indifference has been pricked.

The puncture so far is tiny, but time will enlarge it and one day, not so far away either, the whole shell may crack. Already a Masai parson, the Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, has fenced off 2,000 acres of communal grazing where he fattens steers bred from improved bulls, has a simple milking bail and makes ghee. Elsewhere, half a dozen other Masai have fenced in grazing land. When the railway took a pipeline off Mt. Kilimanjaro, they set up watering points for Masai cattle along its course, and in return one section of the tribe, the Il Kisongo, agreed to operate a pasture-management plan, financed by a grazing fee, which is acting as an entry-point for new ideas.

When these movements spread, as they seem bound to do, the doom of the game will be accomplished. For game cannot co-exist with modern pasture management. Unless the Masai come to see game as an asset of high value, it will go here, as it has on European farms, and for the same reasons: it will go down before the fence, the improved pasture and the need to keep the land free of disease.

## VI

To admire pictures in the National Gallery, cathedrals of the Middle Ages or the antiquities of Greece is considered



[pp. 162-230 not processed]